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ABSTRACT

The Stanford Workshop made a comprehensive review of the relevant issues for analyzing the employment profile of the Asian/Pacific Americans and also of the available data base for initiating a scientific economic study. The recommendations and conclusions were: (1) an independent survey should be undertaken; (2) Asian/Pacific Americans constitute the smallest minority, and a major segment of them constitutes the major portion of new Americans, yet there exists an absence of adequate information for proper manpower planning for them; (3) the Asian/Pacific American labor market should be studied as a composite group, since studies covering sub-groups (e.g., Japanese, Chinese, etc.) remain too fragmented; (4) the proposed study should not be postponed until the 1980 census data are available; (5) the proposed study would be completed by 1982, thus providing a set of findings much sooner for possible formulation of the nation's manpower needs; (6) the manpower planning of the nation has been related to the immigration policy; and (7) the address-banks of alternate sources (for identifying Asian Americans) should be used as the "universe" for the survey of the proposed study.
(Author/RLV)

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THE FIRST SCIENTIFIC WORKSHOP ON

THE STATUS OF EMPLOYMENT, UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNDEREMPLOYMENT OF THE ASIAN/PACIFIC AMERICANS

AUGUST 20-25, 1978

Stanford University
Palo Alto, California

Director:

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I. SOME CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES

1. Introduction

The first scientific workshop on the Status of Employment, Unemployment and Underemployment of Asian/Pacific Americans was held on August 20-25, 1978 at Stanford University in California. The first part of this report shall begin by stating some of the very striking features that characterized the workshop.

1.1 Seldom have we gone to a five-day professional assembly where participants continued to demonstrate their interest and commitment with the highest level of professional excellence and enthusiasm, from gavel to gavel. The workshop was called to order at 9:00 a.m. on August 21 (Monday) and adjourned at 12:00 noon on Friday, August 25, as scheduled. For five days and some forty intensive hours, the assembly of concerned scholars and their guest-speakers continued to share their concern for the scholastic issues relative to a profile of the Asian/Pacific American (APA) segment of the nation's labor market. It remains a scientific issue, an economic issue, no less significant and no less relevant than the study of the economic profile of the new immigrants from various other parts of the world for which studies have been undertaken and with proper allocation of resources. The issue was of concern to the participating scholars not only because of their shared ethnic identity with this segment of the nation's labor force. It was of concern because it was a basic economic issue and the nation's labor market as a whole must share this concern. Because we are concerned with labor market behavior - if identifiable differences in behavior by this criteria - it is important to know what

it is. At present, manpower policy describes only native Americans by ethnic category. Others are categorized by occupational characteristics, unemployed and underemployed, and income level.

1.2 It was a broad-based inter-university project where scholars from various academic institutions across the nation came to participate. Scholars came from the University of California-Berkeley, the University of California-Los Angeles, State University of California-San Francisco, San Francisco University, State University of California-San Bernardino, Illinois Institute of Technology-Chicago, Utah University, University of Hawaii, Arizona State University, University of Pennsylvania, Rutgers University, State University of New York-Buffalo, City University of New York, Howard University-Washington, D. C., Manhattan College-New York; Montclair State College-New Jersey, Bloomsburg State College-Pennsylvania, Carleton University-Canada, and Stanford University, California.

1.3 This was the first scientific conference which saw a successful assembly of scholars from the academic world across the country and across the ethnic subcultures of the select population under study which was joined by concerned federal agencies, leaders of community-based ethnic organizations, and nationally renowned scholars in the field of employment and discrimination studies. The interaction and dialogues that followed made the workshop a unique experience for all who came to participate.

1.4 As many as five federal agencies that have concern for the

issues before the workshop were represented: the office of the Commissioner of the U. S. Immigration and Naturalization Services, the office of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission, the office of the Chairperson of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the U. S. Department of Labor, and of course, the U. S. Bureau of the Census.

1.5 Participation by the leaders of the community-based organizations in a special session became a successful experience. It was felt that a continued dialogue with community-based organizations alone can enable the concerned scholars to undertake successful research in economic issues of such social import.

1.6 The workshop succeeded in introducing yet another new dimension to traditional pedagogic approaches. Scholars with direct knowledge of the issues of employment, unemployment and underemployment in fields such as medicine, engineering, and corporate sectors, joined professional scholars in Economics as full participants, to carry on substantive dialogues with academic scholars.

1.7 The workshop was a truly interdisciplinary forum as it brought together professional economists and scholars in varied fields such as Statistics, Human Engineering, Social Anthropology, Medicine, Engineering, Management Science, Sociologists, Psychologists, Historians, Journalists, and a Generalist, as Betty Lee Sung would insist on describing herself.

1.8 The workshop was a successful forum where all numerically large cultural subgroups of the Asian American population met

together: the Japanese, the Chinese, the Filipino, the Koreans, the Asian Indians, the Indochinese - all categories that will be independently enumerated in the 1980 Census. They met and talked and succeeded in developing a consensus. It was a successful Asian American experience. It became evident that when a problem is well specified and scientific professional approaches are sought to study the problem, a comprehensive Asian American experience can be real and effective.

1.9 The Workshop would have been far less successful if its participants were restricted to ethnic scholars alone, notwithstanding their professional standing. The workshop was successful in securing the learned participation of nationally distinguished scholars. Garth L. Mangum of Utah University came to deliver the invited lecture. Elizabeth L. Scott of Berkeley, a renowned scholar in the field of measurement of sex bias in employment, spoke on her extensive research encompassing measurement of this great social problem of contemporary society. Myra H. Strober and Ralph W. Keller, both of Stanford University, and Thomas Q. Gilson of Hawaii University made great contributions to the program. Provost William F. Miller of Stanford University contributed a forthright statement on the issues in his opening remarks.

II. THE FRAMEWORK OF RESEARCH

2.1 At the Stanford Workshop, the myth of Asian American success was put to intense scrutiny, and it was strongly suggested that without substantive evidence to the contrary, the myth of Asian American success remains a myth. There exists serious employment problems both in terms of (i) unemployment and (ii) underemployment, insofar as this segment of the nation's labor force is concerned. Nevertheless, there exists not a single comprehensive economic study of the Asian/Pacific American employment profile.

2.2 The basic issue is economic. The issue is of concern because of the basic economic nature of the issues involved. The loss functions in relation to the volume of unemployment and underemployment can and have been studied in the context of various other segments of the national labor force. It is recognized that such studies have found additional enrichment when scholars who personally share direct experience of and interaction with, the specific labor force segment, have offered to join related studies. They bring an additional input and can help develop a more realistic framework of research. This has been especially true for studies relative to sex discrimination on the job.

2.3 The Asian/Pacific American (APA) population in 1970 is known to have been seriously underestimated. The Bureau of the Census reports that the rate of undercount for the Black minority was four times as high as that of the White majority. It has been suggested that the smaller the size of a given minority population, the higher will be the rate of undercount for the census enumeration. The Bureau of the Census is aware of this problem and has initiated

bold corrective measures for the APA segment of the nation's population. In addition, the recent liberalization of immigration laws and the more recent extraordinary events in Vietnam have contributed to a rapid increase in the APA segment of the nation's population. In the absence of any firm estimate, it is guessed that the 1980 census will show the number to be in the range of four to five million. It was suggested at the Stanford Workshop that preliminary data indicate that the labor force participation rate of this group is relatively high. One estimate has it that there is now more than one million Asian/Pacific Americans in the nation's labor force. It was thought to be an underestimate.

2.4 The Stanford Workshop established that the existing body of census data, including the CPS data, cannot be expected to yield reliable estimates of the employment status of the APA labor force. Their distribution in the CPS sample remains seriously uneven and the size is very small. The Bureau of the Census acknowledges this fact, and they share the concern that their forthcoming decision to identify APA labor force in the CPS data will not be expected to improve the situation. Given the distribution of the APA labor force in relation to labor market structure, a fully independent survey is called for.

2.5 The framework of research and an appropriate survey towards a scientific study of the status of underemployment complicate the problem further. The need for an independent survey becomes even more compelling.

2.6 Given the fact (1) that there exists the need for a study

on the merit of economic issues, (ii) that there exists no study which meets the need, (iii) that the dimension of the problem is recognizably large and growing, (iv) that the participation of scholars who share ethnic identity with the APA labor force can be useful and (v) that there exists no body of census data, the Stanford Workshop recommended that an inter-university research group undertake to conduct an independent survey, with emphasis on stratification on the basis of (a) income, (b) date of immigration and (c) ethnic sub-culture of various groups of the APA population. A detailed questionnaire will have to be developed by the Research Task Force in consultation with the Advisory Council. (The Task Force and the Advisory Council,, pp.11-12). It is important to add that the Stanford Workshop emphasized that one common survey of the APA labor market is important. Such a commom survey will be in line with the new federal guidelines establishing the fivefold exhaustive classifications. In addition, given the size of the APA in the nation's labor force any further breakdown will be counterproductive. The questionnaire, so developed, will have to be pretested.

2.7 Several independent sources of data were indicated at the workshop. (i) The U. S. Immigration & Naturalization Services is developing a body of names and addresses of some one-half million immigrants with "Green Cards." This body of data will have coding for ASIAN AMERICANS. It will be possible for the Research Group to obtain access to this INS data-bank, and use a random sample of several thousand individuals for the employment survey. This body of data

will reflect special characteristics of the APA labor force of recent immigration vintage (not yet naturalized citizens). [Preliminary conferences with Dr. Guillermina Jasso, Special Assistant (Research) to the U. S. Commissioner of INS have taken place, and Dr. Jasso (who also came to speak at the Stanford Workshop) is hopeful and positive about the proposed study and possible cooperation in terms of access to the INS address-bank.]

(ii) The U. S. Department of Labor is generating a data-bank on unemployment insurance with coding for ASIAN/PACIFIC, and this body of data would be available for generating a random sample for the proposed study. This data will be expected to give information in terms of income stratification of the APA labor force.

(iii) The CETA data from cities with high APA concentration also can be used for additional stratified samples. It is true that the CETA coding with "OTHERS," no specific coding "ASIAN/PACIFIC," will involve some problems for data-analyses.

(iv) It is possible that EEOC data-bank, which has been the basis of an independent study by a private consulting firm based in San Francisco, could be used. However, it was suggested that the use of the EEOC data-bank may compromise "randomness" criteria of the sample, since the EEOC data often originate in an adversary situation. Further investigation in this respect would be desired.

(v) The use of data-bank of professional associations encompassing universities, hospitals, corporations, federal and local governments, where relatively higher concentration of APA professionals has been noted remains yet another possibility. The American Medical Association

is reported to have a bank of data covering more than ten thousand foreign medical graduates.

(vi) In addition, further efforts will have to be continued to persuade the Bureau of the Census to broaden the CPS survey appropriately to help generate reliable sample for the study of the employment profile of the APA labor force. The Bureau of the Census recognizes the inadequacy of the present situation, but does not plan substantive work in this regard until mid-1980's or late 1980's.

2.8 The work of Dr. Elizabeth L. Scott of the University of California-Berkeley, encompassing a set of twenty-seven determinants of sex-discrimination on the job, becomes an immediate framework of reference. Dr. Scott made a strong presentation of her findings at the Stanford Workshop. She asserts that according to her findings, if it is disadvantageous to be an Asian/Pacific American, it is much more so to be a woman, in the American employment market. Dr. Myra H. Strober of Stanford University spoke at the workshop refuting the "residual" approach to estimating the extent of job discrimination. Her suggestion of "limited access" of women to the prime labor market as a determining factor was seen as pointing to a key aspect of the phenomenon of discrimination. The nature of "fractured" or sequestered labor markets for the APA labor force became the theme of many papers presented at the Stanford Workshop.

2.9 Some formal presentation of the general theme for a framework for the proposed research will be stated in the third part. One must hasten to note that empirical testing of economic loss functions relative to (i) unemployment and (ii) underemployment can be a

difficult task. The concept of a "fractured" labor market relates essentially to market differentiation based in this case on perception by the rest of the society that the Asian/Pacific Americans are a different category. The role of unobservable, qualitative variables may be crucial, and research efforts to quantify the seemingly unquantifiable have often been difficult. But some progress can and has been made, and that provides further motivation to press for further research.

2.10 The Stanford Workshop established an inter-university research group for continued studies of the APA labor market. The research will be conducted by an inter-university team with the cooperation of an Advisory Council consisting of scholars from academic institutions, public and corporate sectors. Distinguished scholars in the related research areas, Dr. Curtis C. Aller, University of San Francisco, Dr. Elizabeth L. Scott, University of California-Berkeley, Dr. Jack Chernick, Rutgers University-Institute of Management and Labor, have very kindly offered to serve on the Advisory Council.

The Research Task Force shall consist of:

Kazuo Sato, Professor of Economics
State University of New York-Buffalo
Roberto S. Mariano, Professor of Economics
University of Pennsylvania and University of California Berkeley
Gregory N. T. Hung, Professor of Economics
Howard University, Washington, D. C.
Woo Bong Lee, Professor of Economics
Bloomsburg State College, Bloomsburg, Pennsylvania
Joseph S. Chung, Professor of Economics
Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago, Illinois
Yuan-li Wu, Professor of Economics
University of San Francisco and the Hoover Institution, Stanford University
Vincent Su, Professor of Economics
City University of New York-Baruch College
Manoranjan Dutta, Professor of Economics - Director of the Stanford Workshop, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N. J.
Thomas Q. Gilson, Professor of Industrial Relations and Associate Dean for Academic Affairs
Hawaii University, Honolulu, Hawaii

List of Participants
in order of Program Appearance

Haresh Shah, Professor of Engineering, Stanford University, California
Manoranjan Dutta, Professor of Economics, Rutgers University, New Jersey
William F. Miller, Provost, Stanford University
Walter Postle, U. S. Department of Labor, San Francisco California
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Joseph S. Chung, Professor of Economics, Illinois Institute of Technology
Garth L. Mangum, Professor of Economics, University of Utah
Thomas Q. Gilson, Professor of Economics and Industrial Relations, Hawaii University
Myra H. Strober, Assistant Professor of Economics, Stanford University, California
Tino Calabia, U. S. Civil Rights Commission, Washington, D. C.
Damodar N. Gujarati, Professor of Economics, City University of New York-Baruch College and Graduate Center
Shila Gidwani-Buschi, Associate Professor of Economics, Manhattan College, New York
Joji Konoshima, American Federation of Teachers
Kanta Marwah, Professor of Economics, Carleton University, Canada
Paul Leung, Associate Professor of Psychology, University of Arizona
Roshan L. Chaddha, Supervisor / Statistics, Bell Laboratories, N. J.
Roger Herriot, Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce
Margaret Schooley, Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce
Guillermina Jasso, U. S. Immigration and Naturalization Services, Washington, D.C.
Gerald Chan, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, San Francisco, Cal.
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Rajendra Prasad, Assistant Superintendant, San Mateo School District, California
H. Hashimoto, San Mateo School District, California
Thomas Kono, San Mateo School District, California
Kanak Dutta, Member, The Governor's Ethnic Advisory Council, State of N. J.
G. B. Lal, The Hearst Newspaper Group, California(emeritus)
Esther Kee, Chairperson, Council of Asian American Women
Ralph W. Keller, Director, University Placement Services, Stanford University, California
Sondra Sen, Director, Ethnic Heritage Study Program of the Association of Indians in America, Inc.
Ki-Taek Chun, U. S. Civil Rights Commission, Washington, D. C.
Sally Knack, U. S. Civil Rights Commission, Washington, D. C.

III. SEARCH FOR AN ASIAN/PACIFIC AMERICAN EMPLOYMENT PROFILE

3.1 Towards Defining the Asian/Pacific American

If the American Labor force is the set, the Asain/Pacific American labor force is a subset, and this subset is the subject-matter of our investigation. A broad-based five-fold exhaustive classification of the set, as has been currently adopted by federal guidelines, is accepted. The present classification bases itself on continental regional origin, rather than on race/color/ethnic identification. The five-fold classification is:

(i) The natives of North America

(ii) The immigrants from Europe (White)

(iii) The immigrants from Africa (Black)

(iv) The immigrants from Central and South America (Hispanic)

(v) The immigrants from Asia and the Pacific Islands (Asian/Pacific American - APA)

Any such classification is bound to be arbitrary and certainly less than perfect. The present one has its merit and is acceptable.

3.2 The Undercounted Minority

The subset of APA population in the 1970 census was recorded to be approximately two million (Table 1, p. 14).

The 1970 census figures are believed to be serious underestimates and warrant corrective adjustments for the following reasons:

(a) The general undercount:

First, it must be recognized that no census can accomplish one hundred percent accurate enumeration. The U. S. Bureau of the Census estimates that for the 1970 census, the undercount for the White was two

Table I
POPULATION, BY RACE AND SEX, 1940 TO 1970, AND URBAN-RURAL RESIDENCE, 1960 AND 1970

[In thousands. As of April 1. Resident population. Prior to 1960, excludes Alaska and Hawaii. See also *Historical Statistics, Colonial Times to 1970*, series A 91-104.]

Race and Sex	1940	1950	1960			1970		
			Total	Urban[1]	Rural[1]	Total	Urban[1]	Rural[1]
U.S. Total	131,669	150,697	179,323	125,268	54,054	203,212	149,325	53,887
Japanese	127	142	464	381	83	591	524	68
Chinese	77	118	237	227	11	435	419	16
Filipino	46	62	176	130	47	343	293	50
Other*	5	49	218	150	68	721	593	127
Male U.S.	66,062	74,833	88,331	60,733	27,598	98,912	71,959	26,954
Japanese	72	77	225	184	41	271	240	31
Chinese	57	77	136	129	6	229	220	8
Filipino	40	46	112	80	32	189	159	31
Other*	4	27	115	79	36	365	300	64
Female U.S.	65,608	75,864	90,992	64,536	26,456	104,300	77,366	26,933
Japanese	55	65	240	197	43	320	283	37
Chinese	20	41	102	97	4	206	199	8
Filipino	6	16	64	50	14	154	134	19
Other*	1	22	103	71	33	356	293	63

[1]Based on 1960 urban definition;
*Aleuts, Asian Indians, Eskimos, Hawaiians, Indonesians, Koreans, Polynesians, and other races not shown separately.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population, 1950, vol.II, part 1, and vol. IV, part 3; 1960 and 1970, vol. I.

percent, while that for the Black was eight percent - four times as high. It has been suggested that the rate of undercount may be still higher for the APA population. Betty Lee Sung [50] in her study projects that for the Chinese Americans the rate of undercount could have been as high as twenty to twenty-five percent. Lack of knowledge or limited knowledge of English language, she suggested, could be an issue in this regard.

The basic issue is one of perception - even if language was not a handicap. Historically, the Asian immigrants have been made to perceive that they do not belong to the class of immigrants who really belong here. We shall develop this point further in the next section. Thus, those Asian immigrants who arrive here fail to perceive that they are welcome to be enumerated in the United States census. It has further been suggested that the smaller the size of a minority group in a given population, the larger the rate of under-enumeration is likely to be for the group. If this hypothesis was found to be "true," the undercount rate for the APA in 1970 census, which constituted some one percent of the total population, would be far higher than the undercount rate for the Blacks who constituted the largest minority group. It has been argued elsewhere [9] that the White as well as the Black America must share their responsibility in regard to this smallest minority group. There is an apprehension amongst the Asian Americans that the official majority (White), as well as the official minority (Black), have no way of fully appreciating the problem of this smallest of all minority groups in the United States population.

(b) The 1965 Immigration and Naturalization Act:

The 1965 Immigration and Naturalization Act finally abolished the archaic "quota" system. This enabled the larger inflow of immigrants from Asia. The 1970 census enumeration could not have included them. (Table 2, p. 17, Table 3, p. 18)

(c) The 1970 census provided tabulations for immigrants from China, Japan, Korea and the Phillipines. Figures for immigrants from other East Asian countries were a "projection" from the pool "others."

(d) Finally, immigrants from the Indian sub-continent countries were not considered as Asian Americans until recently. As late as 1976, they were re-classified as Asian Americans, and from various estimates based on projections from the 1970 census, and the recent immigration figures, this group consists of approximately a third of a million people.

(e) The recent immigration from Vietnam under too well-known historical circumstances, will further add to the number of the APA population. (Table 4, p. 18)

There is no firm estimate of the APA population,and the best guess is that the 1980 census will show the number to be higher than the four million mark, approximately two percent of the population.

3.3 The Size of the APA Labor Force:

The 1970 Census tabulations show (table 5&6) that as high as 63.8 percent of the Japanese, Chinese and Filipino Americans participated in the labor force. Indeed, there is a very high labor-force participation rate for this group as reported by various researchers. Marwah [38] and Sato [44] presented the following two tables. If the above rate is accepted as a bench-mark and if

Table 2

IMMIGRANTS, BY COUNTRY OF LAST PERMANENT RESIDENCE: 1820 TO 1977

[In thousands, except percent. For years ending June 30 except, beginning 1977, ending September 30.
Data prior to 1906, refer to country from which aliens came. Because of boundary changes and changes in list of countries separately reported, data for certain countries not comparable throughout. See also *Historical Statistics, Colonial Times to 1970*, series C 89-119.]

Country	1920-1977 total	1951-1960 total	1961-1970 total	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	Percent		
										1820-1977	1961-1970	1971-1977
Asia	2,573	153.3	427.8	116.0	120.0	127.0	129.2	146.7	150.8	5.4	12.9	31.7
China	510	9,7	34.8	8.5	9.2	10.0	9.2	9.9	12.5	1.0	1.0	2.4
Hong Kong	169	15.5	75.0	10.9	10.3	10.7	12.5	13.7	12.3	.4	2.3	2.8
India	140	2.0	27.2	15.6	12.0	11.7	14.3	16.1	16.8	.3	.8	3.5
Iran	33	3.4	10.3	2.9	2.9	2.5	2.2	2.6	4.2	.1	.3	.7
Israel	80	25.5	29.6	3.0	2.9	2.9	3.5	5.2	4.4	.2	.9	.8
Japan	400	46.3	40.0	5.0	6.1	5.4	4.8	4.8	4.5	.8	1.2	1.3
Jordan	34	5.8	11.7	2.4	2.1	2.5	2.3	2.4	2.9	.1	.3	.6
Korea	211	6.2	34.5	18.1	22.3	27.5	28.1	30.6	30.7	.4	1.0	6.1
Lebanon	646	4.5	15.2	3.0	2.6	3.0	4.0	5.0	5.5	.1	.5	.9
Philippines	343	19.3	98.4	28.7	30.2	32.5	31.3	36.8	38.5	.7	3.0	8.1
Turkey	384	3.5	10.1	1.5	1.4	1.4	1.1	1.0	1.0	.8	.3	.3
Vietnam	26	2.7	4.2	3.4	4.5	3.1	2.7	2.4	3.4	.1	.1	.8
Other Asia	197	9.0	36.7	13.0	13.5	13.8	13.2	16.2	14.1	.4	1.2	3.4

Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Annual Report.

Table 3
IMMIGRANTS, BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH: 1951 TO 1977

[In thousands. For years ending June 30 except, beginning 1977, ending September 30.]

Country of Birth	1951-1960 total	1961-1970 total	1971-1975 total	1976	1977
Asia	157.1	445.3	611.8	149.9	157.8
China	32.7	96.7	85.6	18.8	19.8
Hong Kong	3.1	25.6	21.5	5.8	5.6
India	3.1	31.2	72.9	17.5	18.6
Japan	44.7	38.5	23.8	4.3	4.2
Jordan	5.1	14.0	13.2	2.6	2.5
Korea	7.0	35.8	112.5	30.8	30.9
Phillipines	18.1	101.6	153.3	37.3	39.1
Vietnam	2.0	4.6	19.3	3.0	4.6

Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, *Annual Report*, and releases.

Table 4
INDOCHINA REFUGEES, 1975 TO 1977 AND BY CHARACTERISTICS, 1975

Characteristic	Number (1000)	Percent	Characteristic	Number (1000)	Percent
Refugees, total 1977	148.4	100.0	Occupation Continued		
Refugees, total, 1976	144.1	100.0	Service	2.3	7.6
Refugees, total, 1975	123.3	100.0	Farming, fishing,	1.5	4.9
Male	67.5	54.7	and forestry		
Female	55.8	45.3	Agricultural Processing	.1	.4
			Machine trades	2.7	8.7
Age:			Benchwork, assembly,	1.2	4.1
Under 6 years	20.4	16.6	repair		
6-17 years	36.1	29.3	Structural and construction	2.0	6.6
18-24 years	22.7	18.4	Transportation, miscellaneous	5.2	16.9
25-44 years	32.3	26.2	Unknown	2.4	7.9
45-62 years	9.3	7.5	Educational level	67.0	100.0
63 years and over	2.5	2.0	None	1.4	2.1
			Elementary	12.0	17.9
Occupation	30.6	100.0	Secondary	25.4	37.9
Medical professions	2.2	7.2	University and above	13.1	19.5
Professional, technical,			Unknown	15.1	22.6
and managerial	7.4	24.0			
Clerical and sales	3.4	11.7			

Source: 1976 and 1977, U.S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, Task Force for Indochina, *Report to the Congress;* 1975, U.S. Dept. of State, Interagence Task Force for Indochina, *Report to the Congress.*

the current base population is three million, the APA labor force size will be determined at 1.9 million. It is widely believed that the number is more than a million and others suggest that it may be close to 1.5 million. But again any firm figure is lacking. Given any of the above estimates, the APA labor force is higher than one percent of the nation's current labor force.

If information about the APA population and the related labor force has been sketchy, the problem is much more acute with respect to the Pacific Islanders. Walter Postle, Economist, U. S. Department of Labor, in his remarks at The Stanford Workshop emphatically pointed to the paucity of scientific information and analytic study of the economics of the Asian/Pacific American segment of the national labor market.

3.4 Myths

The Asian Americans have had no history of disadvantage. The Blacks have a history, the grim history of slavery and lynching. The natives of North America lost the war and their existence is now threatened. The Hispanic Americans have a history of difficult immigration process via exploited, low-paid jobs. The women have institutional handicaps. The Asian Americans are perceived to have their voyages to America the easy way and they have no economic handicaps. The truth is the 1917 Asian Exclusion Act, and the closing of the gates to the immigrants from Afghanistan to Korea - the "forbidden" Asia. The truth is embodied in the history of restricted immigration quotas. It has been argued [10] elsewhere that we need not indulge in analysing the relative intensities of disadvantages and discrimination

due to the "slave" labor, the "cheap" labor, the "defeated" labor and the "forbidden" labor.

If restriction and denial of entry are seen as conservative practices, the liberals have their own myths too. They are the architects of the phrase "Brain Drain." Insofar as economic calculus is concerned, this is indeed a myth, however lofty and liberal its connotations may be. The new immigrants from Asian countries are often seen as "brain drain" and a loss to the economic development of the countries of their origin. It needs "two blades of a pair of scissors" - supply and demand, [36] for economic value of an input to be determined If there is plenty of supply and no demand, the "brain" is useless, and reduces itself to a non-economic input. The "brain drain" is at best a slogan to re-establish the Ricardian theory of free mobility of goods but not of factors of production.

In today's fast moving inter-dependent world, both labor and capital are internationally mobile and such mobility has contributed to the greater prosperity of the world as a whole. Even for the Asian countries, the so-called "brain drain" can have an economically positive effect, if the European experiences in terms of historic "brain drain" from European countries are of any guideline. The world as a whole would have been a poorer place to live, if successive rounds of emigrations from Europe had never taken place.

3.5 The Asian Americans have it made. (see tables 5&6, p. 21-2) The 1970 census tabulations establish that the median family incomes of the three groups, the Chinese, the Japanese and the Filipinos, compare favorably with the national family income median. Indeed, these groups are

Table 5
Asian Population by National Origin, 1970

	Japanese	Chinese	Filipino	Total Millions
Population	588324	431583	336731	1.357
% of U.S.	(.29%)	(.21%)	(.17%)	(.67%)
Foreign born %	20.8	47.3	53.1	
16 years old or over	438954	308905	226480	.974
Total in the labor force 16 years old and over	275145	191751	154947	.622
(% of 16 years old or over)	(62.7%)	(62.1%)	(68.4%)	(63.8%)
Total Employed	263972	183562	131555	.579
(% of labor force)	(95.9)	(95.7)	(84.9)	(93.10
Median School Years	12.5	12.4	12.2	12.37
No. of families	133972	94931	71326	300184
Mean family size	3.36	3.98	4.24	3.76
Median Income per family	$12515	$10610	$10331	$11152
% of families below poverty line	6.4	10.3	11.5	8.8

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970. excludes other Asians

Acknowledgement - Dr. K. Marwah

Table 6
Employment characteristics of ethnic groups, 1970

	Total	White	Negro	Spanish origin	Japan-ese	Chin-ese	Fili-pinos	Korean
Unemployment rate, 16 years & over								
male	3.8	3.6	6.1	5.5	2.0	3.0	4.7	3.6
female	5.3	5.0	7.8	8.0	3.0	3.7	4.7	5.4
Weeks worked in 1969, 16 years & over								
male 50-52	67.0	68.0	57.8	61.6	70.9	61.2	60.9	
male 27-49	19.9	19.1	27.4	25.1	16.5	21.8	25.1	
male -26	13.1	12.1	14.8	13.3	12.7	17.0	14.0	
female 50-52	43.5	43.7	42.2	39.3	52.3	41.9	42.9	
female 27-49	28.0	27.5	31.8	29.6	25.0	30.4	30.3	
female -26	28.5	28.8	26.0	31.1	22.7	27.6	26.7	
Income below the poverty line								
persons	13.6	10.8	34.6	24.4	7.5	13.3	13.7	
families	11.6	8.7	25.1	19.4	6.4	10.3	11.5	
Median income of persons, 16 years and over								
male			4158	5217	7574	5223	5019	6435
female			2041	2313	3236	2686	3513	2741

Source: Census of Population, 1970, volume 2-1B, table 4; 1C, table 7; 1G, tables 4, 7, 19, 22, 23, 34, 37, 39, 49; 6A, table 1, 9A, table 1.

Acknowledgement - Dr. K. Sato

seen to be doing better. There exists a recent "quick" study somewhere in the State Department which draws similar conclusions for the Americans of Asian Indian heritage.

Yuan-li Wu writes [58], "The large number of poor Chinese, especially in the Chinatowns, have somehow escaped the full attention of those concerned with the plight of minorities. These Chinese Americans have managed to survive through a high participation rate in the labor force. According to the 1970 census, 59 percent of Chinese American families had two or more income earners, which compared with 51 percent for White families." Betty Lee Sung [50] concludes: "The Chinese family median income is higher than the national average, but the figures in themselves are deceptive." She proceeds to add, "The substantially lower personal income figures reveal a more accurate measure." Maraino argues [35] "At first glance, aggregate data from the 1970 census may indicate that Asian Americans are well-off in terms of income, employment, education and returns to schooling. However, appropriate adjustments should be introduced for the presence of multiple workers in Asian American families as well as for geographic regions since most Asian/Pacific Americans are located in high-cost areas in the U.S." Also, a more relevant comparison is with non-Hispanic Whites than with the overall nationwide averages since "disadvantaged groups in the overall population will tend to lower national averages and thereby inflate the status of Asians." Mariano cites "Filipino and Chinese men are no better off than Black men with regard to median incomes in SMSA's such as Los Angeles, San Francisco, New York and Chicago, and Honolulu where there is a high

concentration of Asian Americans." R. L. Chaddha (p.25-26) presents evidence based on foreign scientists' data collected by the National Science Foundation, that, corrected for years of schooling, foreign scientists immigrating from Europe, compared with their peers immigrating here from Asia, (i) make relatively higher average earnings, (ii) enjoy more rapid rate of career advancement. Sato (table 7) and Sen (p. 28-9) independently present evidences that school year adjustments may reveal the relative low earnings profile for the Asian/Pacific Americans. Sen's presentations further offer sex differentials [47].

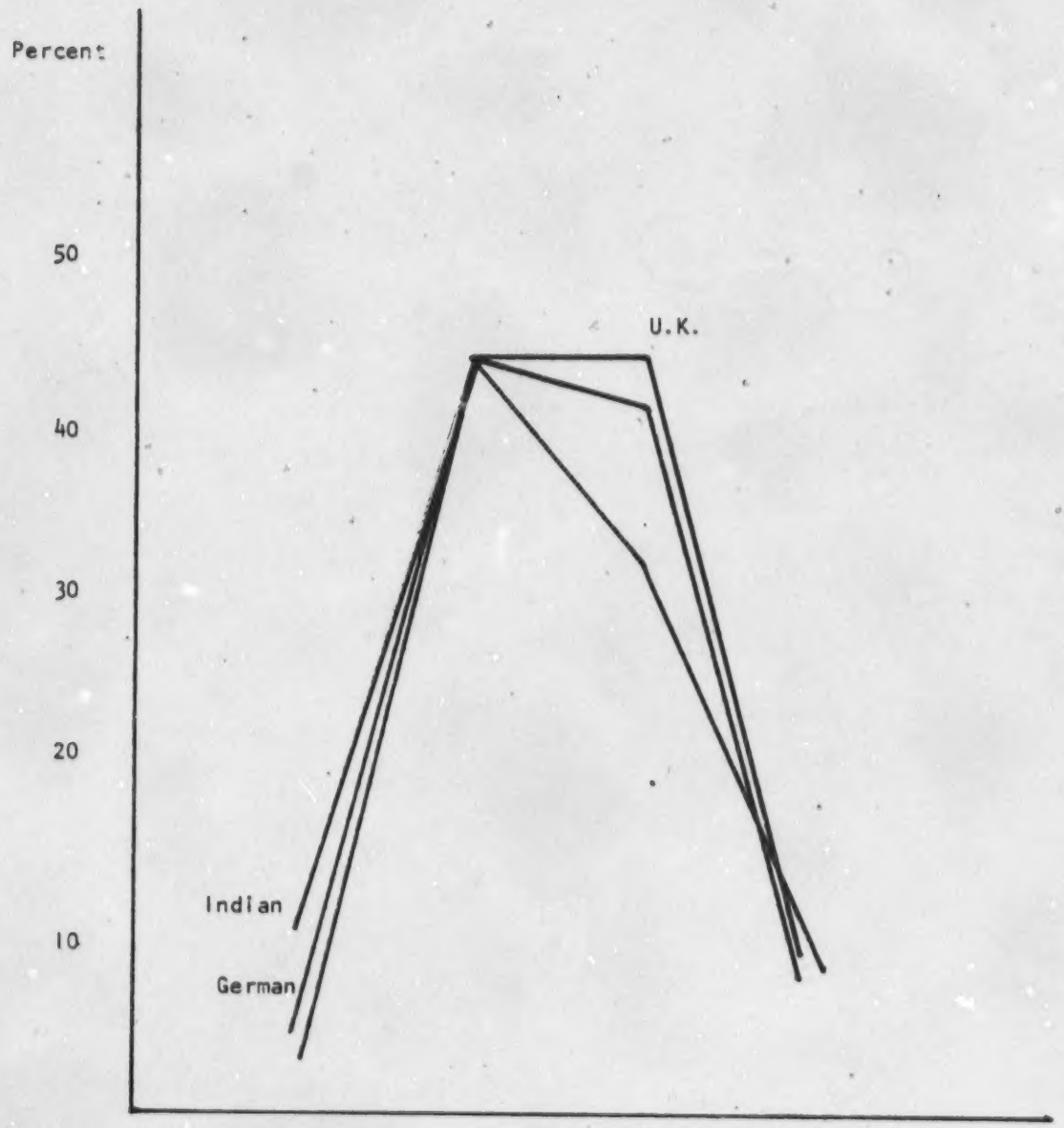
Other arguments for an upward bias in the 1970 tabulations:

(a) the general undercount, the magnitude of which Betty Lee Sung [50] projects for the Chinese as high as 20 - 25 percent, left the disadvantaged segment unrepresented in the census profile;

(b) native-born, English speaking, respond to the census while the new immigrants with serious language handicaps fail to respond. Indeed, the unenumerated remain at the bottom of the earnings profile;

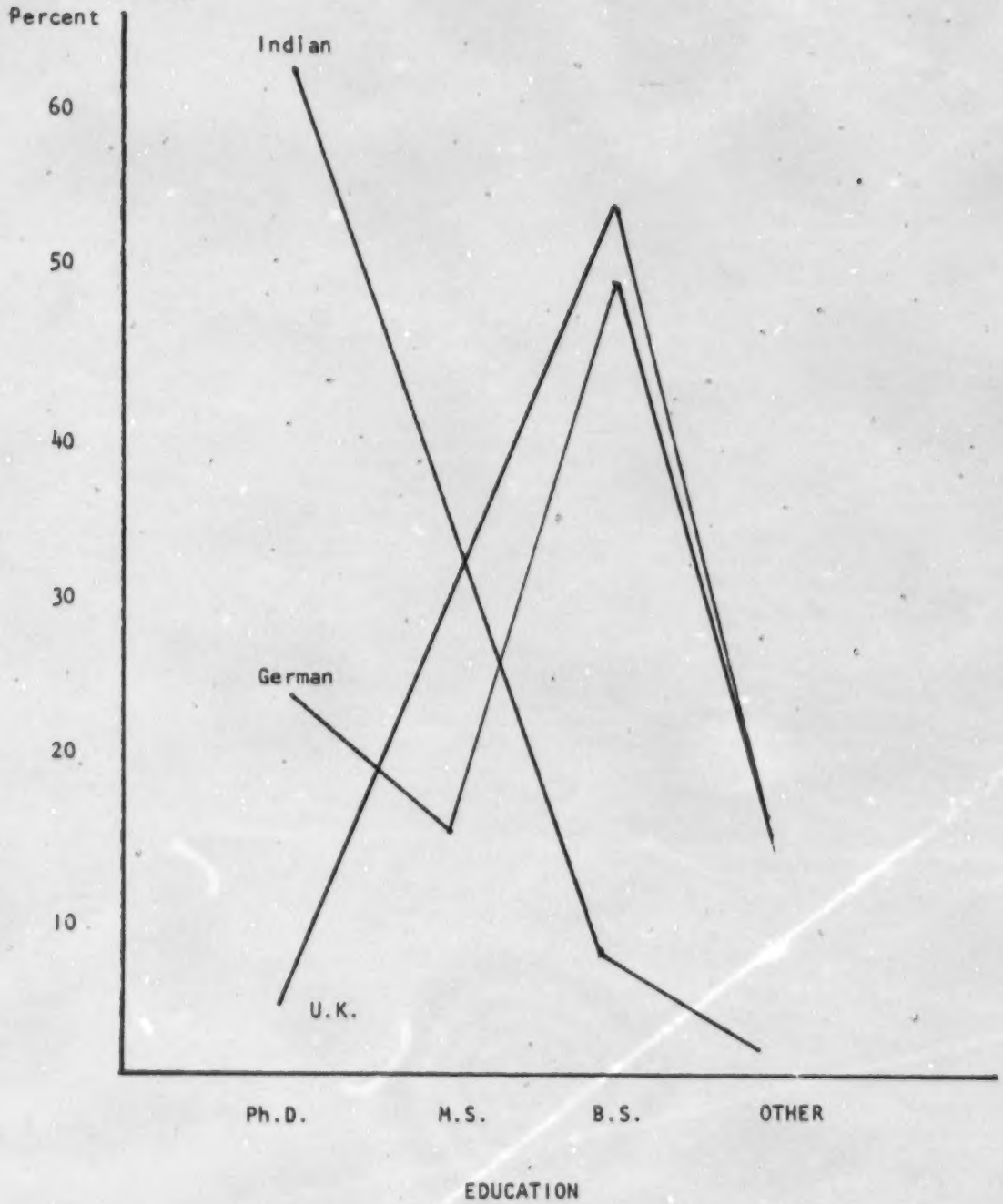
(c) apprehension for immigration crack-down motivates many poor Asians to report "incomes" non-existent, and the true state of unemployment remains hidden;

(d) the state of underemployment is very serious. Jobs in family business are often contributing factors towards inflating family median income. The discrepancy between realtively high family median income and the relatively low personal income can be explained by such phenomena;



(Source: NSF, Report 73-302)

Acknowledgement - Dr. R. Chaddha



Acknowledgement- Dr. R. Chaddha

(Source: NSF Report 73-302)

Table 7
Years of school completed, 25 years and over, in 1970

	Total	Native of native parents				Japanese	Chinese	Filipinos	Koreans
		White	Negro	Amer. Indian	Others				
No school years completed	1.6	0.9	3.3	7.8	2.5	1.8	11.1	5.6	2.8
Median years completed	12.1	12.2	9.7	9.9	12.2	12.5	12.4	12.2	12.9
% High School graduated	52.4	57.1	31.0	33.5	56.2	68.8	57.8	54.7	71.1
% College graduated	10.6	11.8	4.2	3.5	12.6	15.9	25.7	27.5	36.3

SOURCE: Census of Population, 1970, volume 2-1G, table 3, 18, 33, 48; volume 2-5B, table 1.

Age distribution of Japanese Americans by sex, 1970

Age	Total	Male	Female
0-14	23.6	26.1	21.4
15-24	16.3	17.4	15.3
25-34	13.7	13.1	14.2
35-44	17.9	14.2	21.1
45-54	14.3	14.8	13.8
55-64	6.2	6.8	5.7
65-74	4.7	4.4	5.0
75-	3.3	3.1	3.5

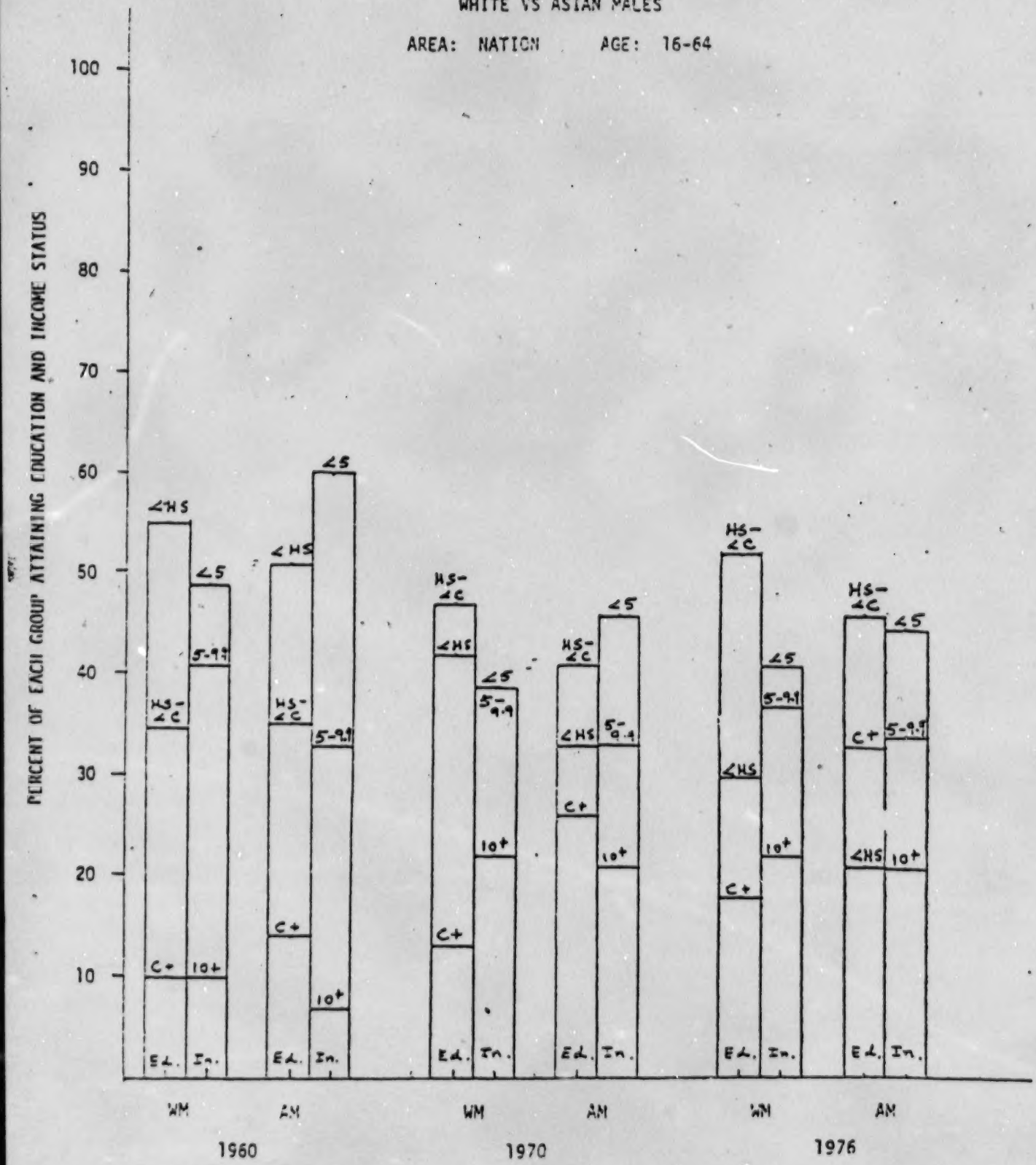
SOURCE: Census of Population, 1970, volume 2-1G, table 2.

Acknowledgement - Dr. K. Sato

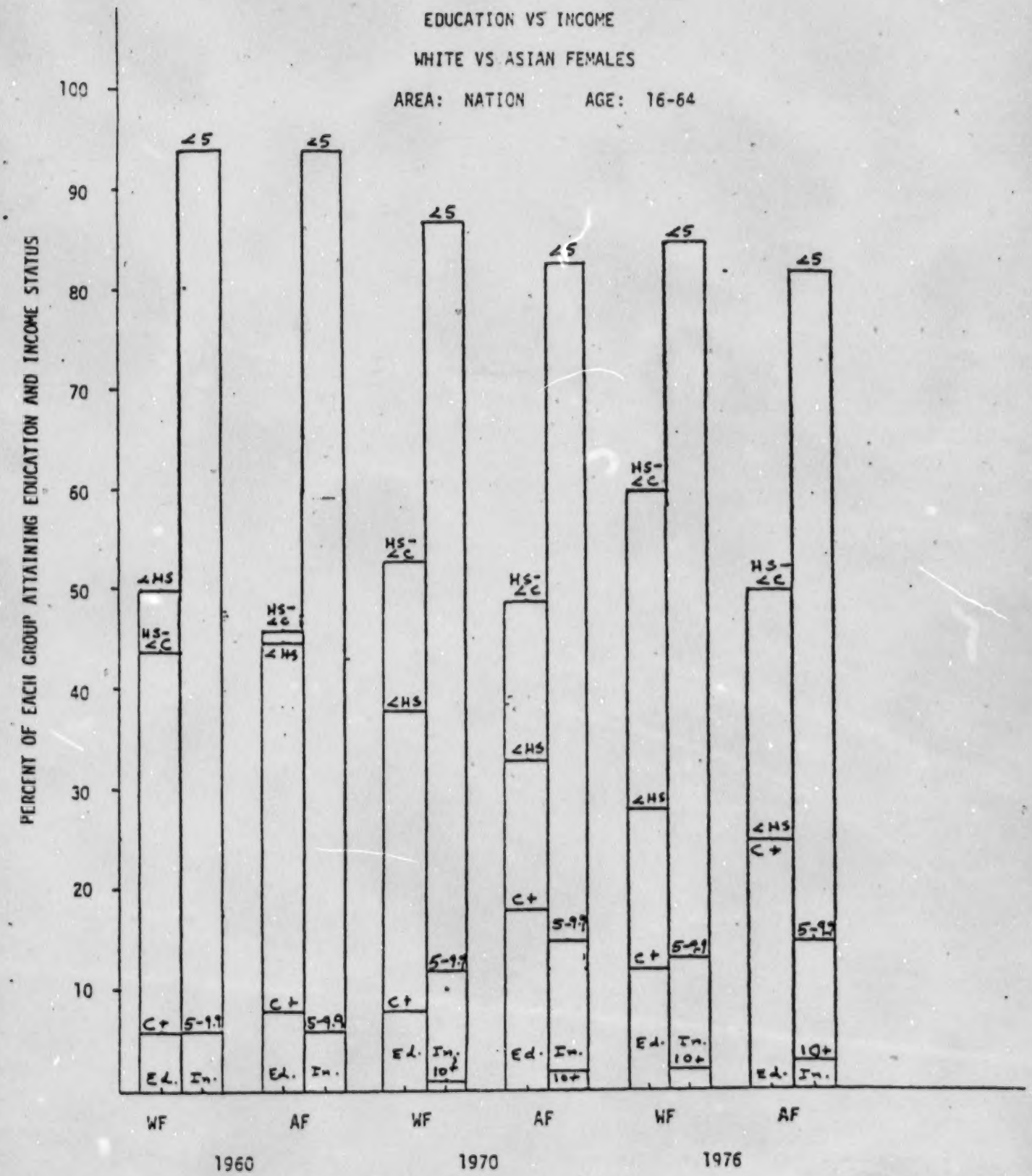
EDUCATION VS INCOME

WHITE VS ASIAN MALES

AREA: NATION AGE: 16-64



Acknowledgement - Dr. T. Sen



Acknowledgement - Dr. T. Sen

(e) general lack of perception - a sense of resignation to uncertainty - results in the poorer segment of the Asian Americans being left out of the statistics. This is so because of the lack of decision-making power. For the Asian poor, there is no power center to look up to and therefore there is no urge to record their unemployment/underemployment. The only way they could make it is to be successful and if they have not made it, the option is to be left out. Thus, the family median income is based on the "success-stories" to the exclusion of those who have failed;

(f) finally, the census income profile is based on sampling (20 - 25 percent) and given the serious undercount, the bias of the estimates for the family median incomes reported may be larger than generally acceptable;

(g) jobs and the "odd" job need to be distinguished. The "odd" job is a code name for a state of serious underemployment. Many immigrants from Asian countries with advanced schooling have been known to be working as night security guards and/or messenger boys in corporate houses. Such a situation can develop if and only if there is no job in the prime occupational field of choice for the candidate.

The myth that the Asian Americans have it made has been persistent, and until very recently, there has been no investigation into the reality of the situation. That Asian Americans have suffered no disadvantage and that the 1970 census tabulations show their relatively high family median income, continue to lend strong support to the myth of Asian American success. It is argued here

that on both counts, the rest of America has erred.

The persistence of myth can still find support from two other sources: first, the quick facile studies by many social scientists who have used limited data base and have told their stories of Asian American success. Gujarati's findings [19] drew widespread criticism because of its data-base, which was too much aggregative and heavily biased upward. It is perfectly logical to compare median family income of two comparable groups, say a group of Asian immigrant physicians and a group of native-born white physicians, adjusted for years of practice and schooling. It is wrong to compare a select immigrant group with the national average measure which is heavily deflated by the inclusion of various "disadvantaged" groups of minorities. Mariano [35] has argued this point. Chaddha [4] reported a study, based on a cross-section random sample (n=300) that there exists perception of discrimination amongst professional Asian Indian immigrants. A similar finding about the Asian Indian immigrants was reported by Elkhanially and Nicholas [13]. Another study by Mohapatra [39] based itself on data-base drawn from "who is who amongst Indian immigrants" type listings. Obviously, such directories exclude who is not "anybody." Those who have not made it, they remain left out from the data-base itself.

The second group of scholars approach the problem very differently and often without any well-defined framework, and thus draw illusory conclusions. A case in point will be the design of research when a scholar ventures to compare the earnings profile of Asian immigrants in the United States with what they would have

earned should they have stayed back in their respective countries of origin in Asia.

3.6 Odd Jobs are not Jobs:

Stanley Lebergott [29] cites the statistic that in 1969, 6.4 percent of Japanese American families were in poverty compared to 8.6 percent of the White families. This may create a myth about the Japanese Americans' economic profile. One wonders if that could be considered a misuse of statistics. The relative economic affluence of the Jewish Americans cannot disprove the history of discrimination against them. The absence of employment discrimination against the Japanese Americans remains to be proved [22] Ishikawa contends. The work ethics of Asian Americans may encourage them to accept a job, not necessarily the one that would match the individuals' background.

Yuan-li Wu [58] cites yet another set of statistics which might have lent further support to the myth. Consider the following data tabulation from the 1940 census:

	Chinese	All U. S.
1. Service workers outside the household	30.9	5.8
2. Operatives, etc.	22.0	17.9
3. Managers, Proprietors, etc. (non-farm)	21.3	9.6

Wu explains that the higher proportion in the category of managers and proprietors reflected the existence of many small Chinese retail establishments in most cases owned by poorly-paid workers who aspired to be self-employed. The real situation is "one of failure and resignation, not one of mythical success," he points out.

Joseph S. Chung [7] complains of lack of income-data on the

Korean Americans. He points out that the median urban income of Koreans, according to the 1970 census tabualtions, was lower than that of Japanese-Chinese Americans but slightly higher than that of Filipino Americans. In the case of rural median household income, the Korean income was the lowest among the Asian American groups. As against this state of relatively unfavorable situation, the same census (1970) tabulation projects that the Korean American income profile is roughly comparable to that of the U. S. population as a whole. The well-known fallacy of composition must be recognized. Chung draws upon the survey "Minority Owned Business: Asian American, American Indians and others" conducted in 1972, by the Bureau of the Census[55],and makes the point that of a total of 1,201 business enterprises owned by Koreans, an overwhelming percentage is small business establishment. "The smallness of the Korean ethnic enterprise can be surmised by the fact that only 249 firms employed paid workers and that the average number of workers per firm was <u>six</u>. Average gross receipts per year were $64,839." The Korean Americans are seen to be self-employed businessmen. The status of business seems to conceal a state of underemployment. Chung presents the rising trend of the Korean immigration and calls for an immediate study of the economic profile so that appropriate policy decisions can be formulated (table 8).

<u>3.7 The Reality</u>: A differentiated labor market:

There exists a differentiated segment of the American labor market. Immigrants of Asian/Pacific heritage are perceived to be different and distinquishable from other major components of the

Table 8: Growth of Korean Immigrants to the United States, 1966-1976

(Year ending June 30)

Years	Korea		Asia	World	Korean immigrants as % of	
	Number	1966=100%			Asia (%)	World (%)
1966	2,492	(100%)	41,432	323,040	6.0%	0.8%
67	3,956	(158.7)	61,446	361,972	6.4%	1.1%
68	3,811	(152.9)	58,989	454,448	6.5%	1.1%
69	6,045	(242.6)	75,679	358,579	8.0%	1.7%
70	9,314	(373.8)	94,883	373,326	9.8%	2.5%
71	14,297	(573.7)	103,461	370,478	13.8%	4.7%
72	18,876	(757.5)	121,058	384,685	15.6%	4.9%
73	22,930	(920.1)	124,160	400,063	18.5%	5.7%
74	28,028	(1124.7)	130,662	394,861	21.5%	7.1%
75	28,362	(1138.1)	132,469	386,194	21.4%	7.3%
76	30,803	(1236.1)	149,881	398,613	20.6%	7.7%
1966-1967 Total	168,914		1,094,120	4,206,259	15.4%	4.0%

Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Annual Reports, 1966-76.

Acknowledgement - Dr. J. Chung

nation's labor market. Even if they spoke English, and indeed, immigrants from the Indian subcontinent countries are generally English-speaking, by "appearance"they are distinguishable from the rest. This differentiation of the Asian/Pacific labor force is not based on language, or religion, or racial origin, or on any one single issue. It is a "mix" of many issues; it is a composite issue. It is indeed a matter of perception, based on their lack of shared experiences based on the Greco-Roman culture and/or the Judo/Christian religion. It is an experience of being "excluded", being "restricted," and it has its roots in common historical experiences, shared by the immigrants from Asian countries.

Economics of Discrimination has been extensively disused in literature. It is important to note that the differentiation is real, and observable. Arthur Cecil Pigouv [42] discussed the concept of discrimination - and here is the Pigovian case of "third degree" discrimination. More recently, Edward Chamberlin [5] wrote on product differentiation and imperfection of the market. An Asian American is not considered either WHITE or BLACK; Brown or Dark may be the terms often introduced for their descriptions.

Given the above background, the employment profile of the Asian/Pacific Americans must be studied in the context of a differentiated segment of the nation's labor force. The issue is not whether they are more or less disadvantaged, or they are more or less differentiated, in comparison with other differentiated segments. The fact is that they belong to a differentiated segment of the labor force. If so, the scientific approach calls for objective

research based on relevant facts. Should such investigations show that they are a "model" minority group, there will be a great deal to learn from such findings. If otherwise, appropriate policy measures can then be developed for combating income inequality due to market differentiation.

Thus, the issue is an economic one. An excellent survey of theories of racial discrimination is found in Marshall[37]; Andersen [1] has reported some innovative work. The literature on the theories of discrimination (appendix I) is extensive. Marwah [38] in her survey, summarizes: "The taste-based aversion models of Becker and Arrow and envy-malice models of Krueger and Alexis have followed the neo-classical traditions... Bergman and Welch are similar to Becker's Model. The wage-differential dimension of discrimination is covered in the neo-classical economics under the human capital theory, a la....Becker, Ben-Porath, Mincer and Rosen." The literature extensively covers race and sex discriminations.

There is hardly any comprehensive research encompassing the Asian/Pacific American labor force as such. Betty Lee Sung[50,51], Yuan-Li Wu [57, 58], Man [34], Leung [32] have studied the Chinese profile. Harry Kitano [24] has studied the Japanese Americans. There are several other recent studies mostly by eminent scholars in sociology and political science.

3.8 The U. S. Bureau of the Census

The U. S. Census Bureau distributed the following analysis (see tables 9 & 10,p.37-38) at the 1980 Census Advisory Committee for the Asian/Pacific Americans held at the Bureau headquarters on

Table 9. CV's for Monthly, Quarterly Average and Annual Average Estimates of Selected Characteristics from Current Population Survey for Asian/Pacific Americans Total Population, Blacks and Spanish: 1978

Characteristic	Asian/Pacific[2] Americans			Total[1] Population			Blacks[1]			Spanish[1]		
	Monthly Estimate CV%	Quarter Average Estimate CV%	Annual Average Estimate CV%	Monthly Estimate CV%	Quarterly Average Estimate CV%	Annual Average Estimate CV%	Monthly Estimate CV%	Quarterly Average Estimate CV%	Annual Average Estimate CV%	Monthly Estimate CV%	Quarterly Average Estimate CV%	Annual Average Estimate CV%
Total Population	5.2	4.5	3.3							3.4	3.0	2.4
Civilian Labor Force	4.0	3.5	2.6	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.8	0.7	0.5	3.5	3.3	2.2
Employment	4.1	3.6	2.7	0.2	0.2	0.2	1.0	0.9	0.7	3.5	3.3	2.2
Wholesale & Retail	8.6	7.5	5.3	0.9	0.8	0.6	3.8	3.3	2.5	5.4	4.8	3.1
Professional & Related Fields	9.3	8.5	7.0	1.2	1.1	0.9	4.9	4.3	3.2	7.9	6.7	4.2
Manufacturing	10.5	9.8	8.2	0.9	0.8	0.7	3.1	2.7	2.0	4.9	4.3	2.8
Durable Goods	15.2	14.1	11.9	1.2	1.1	0.9	4.3	3.8	2.8	6.5	5.6	3.4
Nondurable Goods	13.9	12.9	10.8	1.5	1.4	0.9	4.8	4.2	3.2	6.3	5.4	3.5
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishers	18.0	16.4	13.5	2.7	2.5	2.0	7.7	6.8	5.1	10.7	9.0	5.7
Unemployment Rate	19.0	15.6	10.0	1.9	1.4	0.9	3.7	2.9	1.8	6.7	4.5	3.4
Labor Force Part. Rate	1.8	1.6	1.2	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.8	0.7	0.6	1.1	0.9	0.6

[1]The CV's for total population, Blacks and Spanish are based on estimates from the June 1978 CPS.

[2]The CV's for the Asian and Pacific American population are based on estimates which assume the same relationship between the Asian and Pacific American population in 1978 as in 1970. The CV's given are approximations to those which would be obtained if the data on the Asian and Pacific American populations were available from the CPS.

Acknowledgement - Margaret Schooley

Table 10. CV's of Certain Estimates from Current Population Survey Based on Time for Special Characteristics of Asian Pacific Americans, Total Population, Black and Spanish 1978

Characteristic	Asian/Pacific Americans[2]				Total Pop.[1]	Blacks[1]	Spanish[1]
	Monthly Estimate	March Double Sample Estimate	Two Year Average of Regular March Estimate	Two Year Average of March Double Sample Estimate	Monthly Estimate	Monthly Estimate	Monthly Estimate
Total Families	5.1	3.8	4.0	3.1	0.4	1.1	1.7
Total Households	4.4	3.3	3.5	2.6	0.3	0.9	2.1
Median Income							
Families	3.8	2.9	3.0	2.2	0.4	1.5	2.2
Households	3.8	2.8	2.9	2.2	0.4	1.2	2.1
Percent in Poverty							
Families	12.7	10.0	10.0	7.3	1.1	2.2	4.3
Persons	13.6	10.0	10.9	8.2	1.7	2.3	4.9
Percent High School Graduates	2.4	1.8	1.8	1.3	0.3	1.4	2.1

[1] The CV's for the total population, Blacks and Spanish are based on estimates from the March 1977 supplement to the CPS.

[2] The CV's for the Asian and Pacific American population are based on estimates which assume the same relationship between the Asian and Pacific American population in 1976 as in 1970. The CV's given are approximations to those which would be obtained if the data on the Asian and Pacific American populations were available from the CPS.

Acknowledgement - Margaret Schooley

November 9, 1978. Schooley [46] presented the same table at the Stanford Workshop (August 20-25, 1978). Following the widespread criticism and concern expressed at the above Advisory Committee meeting, the U. S. Bureau of the Census has made the following official response, [56]:

> "The Census Bureau is just beginning to implement research and make plans for a major redesign of the Current Population Survey (CPS). It is anticipated that the redesign will be fully operational in early 1984. As part of the research, we will investigate methods of increasing the reliability of Asian American and Pacific Islander data. We will also consider publishing data cumulated over 12-24 months."

The above presentation is a confirmation that there currently exists no reliable estimates describing the profile of the APA Employment Status. Of course, the U. S. Bureau of the Census has upgraded its survey plans for the 1980 census, and this is expected to yield an improved data-base. The monthly current population survey (CPS), as is designed currently, cannot offer a reliable estimate for the group. An expanded sample and/or to accumulate the relevant data from successive monthly surveys, could be an option. To conduct an independent survey, following the Survey on the Income and Education, conducted in the spring of 1976 by the U. S. Bureau of the Census for the National Center for Education Statistics, DHEW, could be yet another alternative provided the appropriation for funds is made available. The U. S. Bureau of the Census plans to expand its CPS survey at a future date and may then be able to obtain reliable estimates for the Asian/Pacific American Employment Profile.
Given the "smallness" of the size of the given subpopulation and its

uneven distrubution across the nation, designing the sampling technique at an economic cost will continue to be a difficult problem for the Bureau.

3.9 The Issues:

(i) The Job Search:

The issues of concern for the Asian/Pacific American labor market are many. First, finding the job is a problem. In a study of job-search, Gidwani [15] reported that using imaginary profiles of two comparable, rather identically comparable, candidates, one with Anglo-Saxon name and the matching one with an Asian Indian name, her survey of some thirty employers showed discrimination against the Asian-name applicant. Her imaginary candidates, girls as they were, carried identically comparable physical measures, as she reported. A similar exercise for the Filipino Americans has been known to exist.

(ii) The Letters of Recommendation:

Even when a candidate is successful in clearing the preliminary screening, the Asian-immigrant candidate suffers difficulties in obtaining comparable letters of recommendation. It is much more so for the recent immigrants who have not attended schools in this country. The immigrants from Europe are in a comparative advantage, first because they have friends and relatives and acquaintances in churches and social clubs, and secondly, because there is much greater traditional acceptances here of the values the immigrants from Europe bring with them.

(iii) The Less-than-Competitive Offer

Since the Asian immigrant has no way of convincing his/her

potential American employers that the school of plumbing he/she went to in the Asian country was no worse than the ones here, and/or in Europe, the candidate usually fails to obtain a competitive bargain. At times, the Asian immigrant is induced to accept the less-than-competitive offer, lest any chance to "enter" into the American labor market vanishes, or becomes uneconomically delayed. The point is the key one. The "entry" or the "access" to the market is not "free" to the Asian immigrant. Myra Strober [49] emphasized the same point for her study relative to sex discrimination on job.

(iv) The Less-than-Competitive Job:

An Asian immigrant physician is not always perceived to be a physician, and it is at times attributed to the immigrant's medical education. The same is true for engineers, dentists, nurses, and may be true for priests too. An investigation alone can establish the truth or otherwise. Until then, charges of bias and discrimination continue to persist.

(v) The Career Advancement:

The technical skill and professional aptitude need to be evaluated by the peers. The process of peer evaluation cannot be free and open for the Asian immigrants because there exist social barriers, perceived and/or real. This is perhaps less for the native-born Americans of Asian heritage; perhaps less for those who have spouses who are native-born, perhaps less for academic professions at the university-levels and/or for research scientists. Perhaps, there is no exception, and the process of career advancement for the Asian immigrants, subject to "constrained" peer evaluations, becomes slow.

Chaddha [4] in a study suggests similar findings, and Ishikawa [22] argues that underemployment, rather unemployment,is the prime concern for the Asian Americans. Indeed, delayed and/or constrained career advancement can surely result in serious underemployment, and the loss of productivity is aggravated.

(vi) The Cost of the Water-flow Model:

Brij Khare [25] and Kazuo Sato [44] refer to the Water-flow Model and the resultant success by way of career advancement of the immigrant-groups, especially of some segments of the Japanese and the Asian Indian immigrants, and they conclude by emphasizing the cost that follows from the sense of loss of identity. If the concept of "polyglot" has been rejected and if the concept of "pluralism" has been found to be optimal for the American system, the Water-flow Model of easier career advancement can be seen as further shifting the loss function, and thus as contributing to the long-run loss of productivity of a certain segment of labor force of the nation.

(vii) The Sex-discrimination and the Asian Women:

Marwah [38] has argued at length the case of discrimination for Asian immigrant Women in labor. The "tri-minority" and job discrimination provide a specific case study. The sex discrimination on job has been studied at length, and has been extensively 'measured' by various researchers (appendix 2) and we have referred earlier to the works of Scott [45] and Strober [48]. If so, it is not too difficult to extend the design of experiment or consider the case of job discrimination in relation to women, Asian, and foreign-born, - the "tri-minority".

(viii) The Asian Origin-Physicians:

Lanjewar [28] notes that the Foreign Medical Graduates are

a highly heterogenous group. If the FMG's should be allowed to immigrate into the United States, "we should certainly not exploit them or entice them to stay here to fill up unpopular jobs in under-served communities." A controlled experiment using the body of data, some ten thousand FMG's in the data-bank of the American Medical Association can be easily conducted to determine the 'true' state of affairs.

(ix) Foreign-Born:

Bryan D. Y. Man [34] concludes an extensive study by emphasizing the impact of being foreign-born. Using the Chinese data in the states of California and Hawaii, Man shows that for the Chinese-American, the influence of race alone cannot be seen to relate to "the prevailing perception and conceptualization of race relations in America. The complex modifying effect nativity has upon the relationship between race and socio-economic achievement suggests that immigrant status may be more significant, and race less significant, in the achievement process." Man continues: "that the foreign-born Chinese achieve far less than do foreign-born Whites, however, indicates a more complex relationship among race, nativity and achievement..." The above analysis brings into focus a very important aspect of study for a great majority of the Asian Americans are "foreign-born" and first generation immigrants. (Table 11 and 12)

(x) The Indochinese Americans:

Gregory N. T. Hung [21] uses the INS data of some 114, 140 refugees from Indo-China and summarizes some of the socio-economic characteristics. Hung in the same paper, refers to a quick survey

Table II

INCOME DISTRIBUTIONS FOR CHINESE AND WHITE MEN, 25-64
IN CALIFORNIA AND IN HAWAII IN 1969

	California		Hawaii	
	Chinese	Whites	Chinese	Whites
None	1.6%	1.7%	2.4%	0.9%
$1-3,999	19.2	10.4	7.6	11.7
$4,000-6,999	24.2	12.2	11.8	17.1
$7,000-9,999	20.2	25.5	29.5	23.3
$10,000-14,999	22.2	31.2	28.9	24.2
$15,000-19,999	6.9	10.1	11.8	10.1
$20,000-24,999	2.1	3.6	4.7	6.1
$25,000-29,999	1.5	1.8	0.5	3.0
$30,000-49,999	1.5	2.5	1.9	3.0
$50,000 or more	0.4	0.9	0.9	0.8
Total	100.0 (749)	100.0 (1,355)	100.0 (211)	100.0 (890)
Median Inocme:	$7,746	$10,018	$9,881	$9,639

Acknowledgement - Dr. B. Man

Table 12

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTIONS FOR MEN 25 TO 64 YEARS OLD, BY RACE AND STATE, IN 1960

Occupation	California		Hawaii	
	Chinese[a] (1)	Whites[b] (2)	Chinese[a] (3)	Whites[c] (4)
Professionals	18.8%	16.9%	18.3%	20.0%
Managers/Administrators	16.5	15.5	17.4	21.0
Sales	9.2	8.5	7.3	6.5
Clerical	8.8	7.1	14.2	6.5
Craftsmen	7.6	23.9	22.6	21.2
Operatives	12.6	15.5	9.0	11.3
Laborers	1.5	3.9	3.0	4.2
Service	22.0	5.4	6.9	5.3
Private Household	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Farmers	1.3	1.8	1.0	1.1
Farm Laborers	0.6	1.5	0.3	2.9
Total	100.0 (22,586)	100.0 (2,565,867)	100.0 (8,365)	100.0 (25,359)

[a]Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. U.S. Census of Population: 1960. Subject Reports. Nonwhite Population by Race. Final Report: PC(2)-1C, (1963: Table 40).

[b]Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. U.S. Census of Population: 1960. Vol. I. Characteristics of the Population. Part 6, California, (1963: 123); Subject Reports. Persons of Spanish Surname. Final Report PC(2)-1B, (1963: Table 8).

[c]Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. U.S. Census of Population: 1960. Vol I. characteristics of the Population. Part 13, Hawaii, (1963: Table 123).

Acknowledgement - Dr. B. Man

and notes the labor force participation rate for this group of Asian Americans is as high as 66.5 percent, with 79.2 percent for men and 49.8 percent for women. Hung [p.47 Table 13] then adds the following words of caution:

"1. The statistics are based upon telephone interviews with which the Indochinese are not familiar.

2. Because of the stigma attached to unemployment, there is a tendency to exaggerate the employment situation.

3. The term "employment" as understood by the Indochinese, means having a job, any job."

Hung continues to suggest that a special survey based on specific data sources derived from refugee relief and rehabilitation agencies in the various non-governmental groups alone can be expected to develop a meaningful employment/umemployment profile for this group. Indeed, given the historical situation of Vietnamese immigration, Hung's argument has merit.

(xi) The Korean Americans and Absence of Any Study:

Pointing to the absence of any comprehensive study for the Korean Americans' employment profile, (there are some related studies for the Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino Americans) Woo Bong Lee [30] states:..."Many Korean Americans encounter a variety of adverse factors in the American job market that could either cause or prolong unemployment and underemployment. Among these factors are (i) appearance, (ii) language barriers, (iii) lack of American job-experience and training, (iv) degrees and education which are not really accepted and recognized, (v) lack of American business experience and limited

Table 13

EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF PERSONS 16 YEARS AND OLDER BY AGE AND SEX*
(Weighted Percentages)

Age	Males			Females		
	Unweighted N	Employed	Not Employed	Unweighted N	Employed	Not Employed
Total. . . .	705	95.1	4.9	354	93.2	6.8
16-24 . .	217	95.2	4.8	113	93.1	6.9
25-34 . .	238	95.7	4.3	129	95.6	4.4
35-44 . .	140	97.5	2.5	81	96.7	3.3
45- over.	110	90.6	9.4	31	73.3	26.7

*Opportunity Systems, Inc., Survey V, July-August 1977

Acknowledgement - Dr. G. Hung

access to financial and managerial resources, (vi) discrimination and prejudice, (ii) limited mobility, (viii) socio-economic and cultural background dissimilar to that of the dominant group, and (ix) other social and economic problems." Lee then argues for an independent survey, and an integrated study of the Asian/Pacific Americans. Separate and independent studies for each cultural subgroup cannot be useful for meaningful economic analyses.

(xii) The State of Hawaii and the Asian/Pacific Americans:

Thomas Q. Gilson [16] describes the unique population composition of the State of Hawaii, "the only state in the Union where the majority of the population is Asian American by birth or ancestry." Even so, for the new immigrants, Gilson continues to state "...on initial employment, organized efforts at acculturation, particularly in preparation for employment was found to be successful, both in an experimental program involving recent Filipino and Korean immigrants and in the Vietnamese program....This type of service should be available to recent Samoan and Filipino immigrants."

The issue of "nativity" to quote Bryan Man [34] becomes pressing, and further research alone can determine the magnitude of the problem.

(xiii) The Asian Americans and American Academia:

Suresh Desai [8] in a paper, dwells at length on the "structural" imperfections of the market referring to the Asian Americans and the American academia. Drawing upon the "non-profit model of institutional behavior" Desai points to the relative dis-

crimination to which the Asian Americans are exposed even when their academic superiority and competitiveness remain unquestioned, and he attributes the situation to what their American peers perceive as "inferior" personal characteristics. The result, Desai concludes, is that their academic credentials shall remain "undervalued."

(xiv) The Affirmative Action Policies: Seniority vis-a-vis Job Security

The latest federal guidelines assert that the five-fold classification of the American labor force must not be seen to be based on race and shall not be used for any categorization of a group as a minority. Indeed, the term "minority" hardly ever appears in the official notification. However, an important purpose of such five-fold classification is to develop statistics for federal reporting and one such reporting is for the affirmative action programs. This is a difficult relationship to comprehend; on the one hand there is the concern for being "pure" in the compilation of data, and on the other hand, the same data body is being used for socio-economic normative purposes which often are considered at best "ad hoc" reasoning. In most official notifications, mention is made of the Blacks, the Hispanics and then the global term used is "other minorities." Often the local authorities argue that the Asian/Pacific Americans are not "minorities" for hiring and promotion, and for that matter for all affirmative action programs. This is a situation of double jeopardy which involves "last in" and "first out." It will be proper not to have any categorization al all, and continue to suffer from the dangerous illusion that all Americans, sex, race,

ethnicity notwithstanding, are equal. If not, there exists no case for the federal, state and local officials for not specifically mentioning the Asian/Pacific Americans as an independent category of minorities. In recent years, the situation has been confounded by the lack of uniformity of decisions at various administrative levels in regard to the status of Asian/Pacific Americans as a minority group. The U. S. Bureau of the Census in the U. S. Department of Commerce, took the leadership in considering this group as a "minority". The Asian/Pacific Americans should be considered as a "minority" because they have a history of being descriminated given the history of "exclusion" and "restriction" practiced by the U. S. Immigration Services. Furthermore, by "appearance", they continue to be "observed" as differentiated from the majority group, the Whites, and also from the other recognized minority groups, the Blacks, the Hispanics, the Natives of North America. And, they have only a limited "access" to the American labor market. They must be considered a "minority" for all decision-making purposes.

(xv) The Asian American Youth

Sen [47](Table 14) points out that not unlike other minority youth groups, the Asian youth suffers from a much higher labor force non-participation than their white counterparts. Betty Lee Sung [50] and Yuan-li Wu [57] have referred to the "Chinatown Youth Gangs" and the related crimes.

(xvi) Education and Earnings:

Sen [47] and Chaddha [4] present preliminary evidences to show that for both males and females, the average educational level

Table 14
Labor Force Status for White and Asian Males

	1960			1970			1976		
	E	U	NLF (%)	E	U	NLF (%)	E	U	NLF (%)
Age Group 16-19									
Whites	43	5	52	42	5	53	57	11	32
Asians	35	3	62	30	4	66	38	7	55
Age Group 20-24									
Whites	79	6	15	74	5	21	78	10	12
Asians	64	4	22	58	4	38	60	16	24

Thus, like other minority ethnic groups, the Asian youth suffers from a much higher labor force non-participation (and by that I mean here both "unemployed" and "not in labor force" groups) than their White counterparts.

Acknowledgement - Dr. T. Sen

is consistently higher for the Asian group. Sometimes in the college and above category, the Asians show twice as high a percentage as the Whites, when in the income category the picture is reversed. Indeed, earnings per school year, and/or earnings per education-dollar, are likely to show the Asian Americans to be discriminated against.

3.10 A Framework of Research and the Data Base

(i) The Search for a Data-Base is a baffling problem. But the framework of research is of prime concern and must be carefully designed Barry Chiswick [6], in a paper, reported that the earnings profile of the White immigrants from Eastern Europe provided no evidence of discrimination. Commenting on his finding, Martin Bronfenbrenner seriously questioned the framework of research Chiswick adopted for his study. The issue is of prime concern, and it is the design of research which often becomes responsible for wrong conclusions from a given body of data.

(ii) The U. S. Bureau of the Census has currently no way of providing a reliable employment profile of the Asian/Pacific Americans, as has been noted earlier. The 1980 Census, as its projected questionnaire indicates, will certainly be able to generate a large body of data for developing meaningful analysis for the employment profile of this segment of the American labor force. Even so, it will not be easy to generate a data-base for this specific group for a comprehensive employment study until late in the 80's.

(iii) A search of alternative data-base reveals the following information. Guillermina Jasso of the Immigration and Naturalization Services, in a recent presentation [23] suggested that the INS has developed a data-base of several millions of new immigrants with identification of the country of origin of the immigrant. This is indeed a mine of information, and can be very meaningfully utilized for a comprehensive study.(See Table 15, p. 54) This body of data can be used to investigate.

(i) immigrants from Europe and immigrants from Asia share substantially different profile in terms of employment and underemployment, career advancement and job security

(ii) the recent immigrants from Asia and native-born Americans of Asian heritage have different earning profiles, "nativity" being a contributing factor, as suggested by Bryan Man;

(iii) the employment profile of non-native-born Asian immigrants differ substantially from that of non-native-born European immigrants.

(iv) the INS data will enable us to "control" immigrants by years of school, language handicap (English language spoken by Asian as compared to English language spoken by the European immigrants), the professional background, and test the impact of such variables in the relative income profiles of the two groups.

(v) The age-sex profile of immigrants from Europe, that of immigrants from Asia and their impact on the earnings profiles of the two groups.

Given the fact that the immigration from the Asian countries has increased, in recent years, the INS data-base will be of significant

Table 15

ALIENS WHO REPORTED UNDER THE ALIENS ADDRESS PROGRAM BY SELECTED NATIONALITIES AND STATE OF RESIDENCE 1/1977

Grand Total	4,964,331
Total Permanent Residents	4,451,306
Canada	305,475
China & Tawain	121,312
Cuba	311,188
Dominican Republic	93,677
Germany	162,764
Greece	68,288
India	95,557
Italy	196,761
Jamaica	60,431
Japan	66,320
Korea	130,492
Mexico	938,972
Phillipines	203,971
Poland	79,291
Portugal	120,101
United Kingdom	287,320
All other Permanent Residents	1,209,386
Other than Permanent Residents	513,025

Source: United States Department of Justice
Immigration and Naturalization Service

Acknowledgement: Guillermina Jasso

analytic value. In addition, it is well-known that a large number of Chinese Americans even when they immigrated into this country many years ago, still continue to live off their "green" cards, and refuse to become naturalized citizens. The INS data may be used to draw a special earnings profile for them.

The INS data has one limitation in that it does not include the Asian immigrants as soon as they become naturalized citizens. Furthermore, the INS data-bank shall provide only names and addresses of thousands of Asian immigrants identified by their countries of origin, and it can be used only when an independent survey has been made of this "population" base. To extend the coverage of the study to naturalized Americans of Asian heritage the data-bank of various professional associations and of the employees of federal and local governments can be used.

(iv) The Need for Longitudinal Data [41] has been rightly emphasized.

"The cross-section data provides a snapshop at a given point of time. The nation's labor market information system until recently consisted almost entirely of cross section data. These data, represented a snapshot of the population at a moment in time, yield a wealth of information on the levels of various characteristics and their incidence throughout the population. When compared over time, they are valuable indicators of trends and cyclical activity in the labor market. However, cross-section data do not track individuals over time and, as a consequence, they provide little information about the dynamics of labor market activity. Longitudinal data in contrast

yield a motion picture of the labor market by providing information on the same individuals at different points in time." The INS Data-Bank can be used to generate longitudinal data for studying the dynamics of Asian/Pacific labor market in that the addresses in the INS Data-Bank keep reporting to the Service in January of every year. Indeed, the longitudinal data-base can be generated in various ways, and a given data-bank can be so organized.

(v) The U. S. Labor Department is planning to develop a data-bank with APA identification for unemployment insurance program. This body of data may be yet another source. Similarly, the CETA data, the EEOC data, can be scrutinized for some aspects of the study. Several professional associations, American Medical Association, American Statistic Association, American Economic Association, have moved to collect data-banks of their respective memberships with Asian/Pacific identifications. These bodies of data can be used for "controlled" experiments for developing comparable earnings profile. The earnings of the immigrant physicians from Asian countries need to be compared with that of the native-born physicians, and also with that of the immigrant physicians from European countries. The same is true for various other professional groups.

(vi) An Estimable Model - Multivariate Analysis:

Ishikawa [22] has discussed at length the loss function in its basic mathematical form, should we underemploy a segment of the labor force. A rigorous quantitative study using mathematical specifications which are estimable, can be undertaken. And there is no need to refer to well-known references in this regard. Elizabeth Scott [45]

has done extensive study for sex-discrimination and measurement, and she has identified some twenty-seven quantifiable variables. Myra Strober [49] has rightly rejected the "residual" approach in measuring the sex-discrimination on the job. She has argued the great importance of limited access of women to the prime labor market. Dutta [10] lists a set of variables, and has grouped them under two categories - quantitative and qualitative. In what follows we discuss the basic sets of variables, enumerated by Dutta.

$$E = f(X_1, X_2, \ldots\ldots, X_m, X_{m+1}, X_{m+2}, \ldots\ldots, X_M) \qquad \ldots.(1)$$

E = Employment

$(X_1, X_2, \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots, X_m)$ = vector of perceived variables

$(X_{m+1}, X_{m+2}, \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots, X_M)$ = vector of observed variables

$$\dot{E} = h(Z_1, Z_2, \ldots\ldots, Z_m, Z_{m+1}, Z_{m+2}, \ldots\ldots, Z_M) \qquad \ldots.(2)$$

$\dot{E}$ = Change in employment/change in time (i.e.career development)

$(Z_1, Z_2, \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots, Z_m)$ = vector of observed variables indicating performance on job

$(Z_{m+1}, Z_{m+2}, \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots, Z_M)$ = vector of perceived variables leading to acceptance on the part of the management with power to act upon the ith candidate's career advancement.

Note: Functional Form remains undefined. Simple, linear, additive error structure relationship is easily estimable. However, complicated interaction effort especially in the case of "language" and "appearance" may create bothersome problems even in such simple functional specifications.[11]

Perceived Variables = $(X_1, X_2, \ldots\ldots, X_m)$.

X_1 = The History of Asian Exclusion Act of 1917 and its lingering aftermath.

X_2 = Lack of shared experience, or inadequate sharing of Greco-Roman culture and Judo-Christian Religious Beliefs.

X_3 = Fallacy of 'Brain Drain' Argument: To make the Asian immigrant feel guilty to begin with.

X_4 = Discipline/Management Consideration: More easily controllable subject and the consequent built-in discrimination.

X_5 = Limited Access to "Establishment": church, country-club, political club.

X_6 = Limited Access to Political Power; Immigrants from Europe and from Africa are the official majority and minority respectively, and so perceived by both major political parites. The immigrants from Asia continue to be the unrecognized and neglected minority.

X_7 = The history of immigration Laws: the Quota System; the 1965 liberalization of the Immigration Laws; first generation immigrants' profile; the numerical guidelines are seen as a hidden quota system even by the liberal establishment when it comes to affirmative action programs, (i.e., the Bakke Case) but the numerical guidelines are seen as valid and lawful when it comes to the application of the 1965 Immigration Act. There has been no voice raised even by the liberal scholars who have been vocal in other cases.

Observed Variables = $(X_{m+1}, X_{m+2}, \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots, X_M)$.

X_8 = Education

X_9 = Health

X_{10} = Age

X_{11} = Communication Ability (i.e., language barrier)

X_{12} = Appearance

X_{13} = Sex

Observed Variables = $(Z_1, Z_2, \ldots\ldots, Z_m)$

Z_1 = Quantity of output

Z_2 = Quality of output

Z_3 = Cost Saving per unit of output

Z_4 = Job management/leadership/committee work

Z_5 = Innovativeness/patent/basic research/publication

Perceived Variables = $(Z_{m+1}, Z_{m+2}, \ldots\ldots, Z_M)$

Z_6 = Peer acceptance

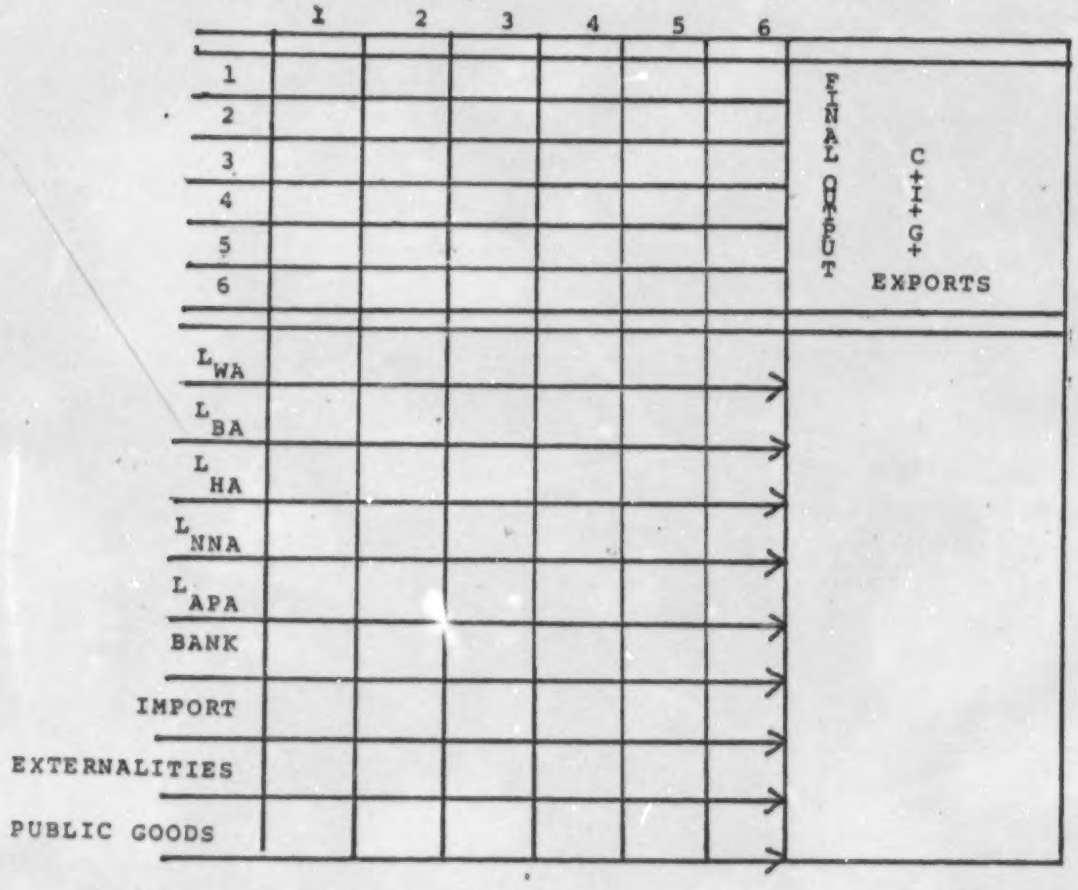
Z_7 = Acceptance by the consumers of the product

Z_8 = Acceptance by the superiors

Z_9 = Acceptance by the Community

Z_{10} = Acceptance by the Self/Self Evaluation/Job Satisfaction

(vii) The issue is that the labor, as an input of production, is not a homogenous variable. Access to the prime labor market, however defined by the Department of Labor, is recognized to be limited, and the non-prime labor market is further differentiated. In international trade, and in welfare economics, the economics of market discrimination has been analyzed, and we have referred to them earlier. We can study the same problem in yet another dimension by using the input-output format of Leontief [31].



An expanded input - output matrix with five different types of labor. (Can be studied)

If the labor input of the non-primary labor market variety, in the present case, the Asian American origin, cannot find entry into most of the cells of production matrix, it must remain less productive, and as such it must stand to be rewarded in a differentiated manner. The issue is then one of "access." The barriers are at times 'real' and at times 'perceived,' as Chamberlin developed his argument in his thesis on monopolistic competition. In the case of international trade, Irving Kravis [27] extended the Hechsher-Ohlin factor availability theorem to suggest that the concept of "availability" can at times be perceived to be true, if not really so.

(viii) The research design we envisage must be carefully designed, and must involve "controlled" experiments. Comparisons to be meaningful must be based on comparable data-base: Asian immigrant against European immigrant, given the breakdown of profession, years of schooling, years of immigration, sex-age profile, and varied socio-economic characteristics. It is our guess that a prime variable to explain earnings differential, as may be found, may be explained by ethnic-association coefficient, where the ethnic association may be defined as the ratio of Asian American immigrants to the specific group. This is indeed the "access" variable discussed by Strober [49] where she might consider ratio of women members in the economics profession compared to the ratio of male members of the economics profession, as an explanatory variable.

3.11 The Conclusion

The Stanford Workshop made a comprehensive review of the relevant issues for analyzing the employment profile of the Asian/Pacific Americans and also of the available data base for initiating a scientific economic study. More specifically, the recommendations are:

(i) An independent survey using the available address-banks of the Immigration and Naturalization Services, other professional associations including the American Medical Association and of federal and local government employees should be undertaken forthwith.

(ii) Given the fact that Asian/Pacific Americans constitute the smallest of all other minority groups of the American population, and that a major segment of them constitutes the major portion of new Americans, there exists an absence of adequate information for proper man-power planning for them. The situation is considered much more important and acute when one considers the fact that majority of the Asain/Pacific immigrants in the recent decades comes with skill and professional aptitude. Lack of scientific planning for their gainful employment shall be responsible for substantive loss of productivity, both for the individuals concerned, and also for the nation as a whole.

(iii) The Asian/Pacific American labor market should be studied as a composite group, following the five-fold exhaustive classifications under the new federal guidelines. Studies covering sub-groups of Asian Americans, such as the Japanese, the Chinese, the Filipinos, remain too fragmented, and often fail to underscore the basic

economic issues, even though they are significant contributions from sociological and historical points of view. The history of immigration of this country also viewed them as one group, and as such they have shared common experiences insofar as"access" to the American employment market is concerned.

(iv) There is no merit in the suggestion that the proposed study should be postponed until the 1980 census data would be available. First because, this body of data, even though much enriched than what the 1970 census produced, would be available no earlier than 1982, as the Bureau of the Census has indicated. Even if a study was initiated soon thereafter the findings of the result could be available only late in the 1980's. By about the same time, the CPS would also be expected to be redesigned to obtain a more reliable employment profile for the APA population. This delay would be counter-productive since appropriate manpower policy remommendations, as may be necessary for this segment of the nation's labor force, would remain unavailable for yet another decade.

(v) The proposed study, if initiated in 1980, would have been completed by 1982, thus providing a set of findings much sooner, for possible formulation of nation's manpower policies. This study, as and when completed in 1982, would also leave us with two other positive results. First, a design of research would have been developed by a process of trial and error and this itself would be a great contribution more so when there exists no comprehensive man-power and employment profile study for the

Asian/Pacific American labor market. Secondly, the experiences gained by this study would enable future researchers to make continued investigations with the 1980 census data at a relatively cheaper cost and with relatively less time. On both counts, direct dollar cost and time, the completion of present research will mean gains for the future research in this field. And there will be need for continued research in this field, as is true in every other field.

(vi) The manpower planning of this nation has been very definitely related with the immigration policy of this country. The 1965 Act of Immigration and Naturalization has been seen to be responsible for an increase in the flow of immigration from the Asian countries. An economic evaluation of this enactment shall soon be due. Indeed, a Select Commission is currently looking into various aspects of the immigration, and an economic evaluation of the Asian/Pacific American labor market could certainly be a meaningful input for the deliberations of the Commission.

(vii) The address-banks of alternative sources, referred to in this report, including that of the INS,have been built up independently under certain historical situations. The cost for the address-banks has already been incurred and thus they remain a public charge. If these banks are used as a "universe" for the survey of the proposed study, it would certainly contribute to a better utilization of the public charges already incurred.

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